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More than eight hundred men, women and children, Wilson assures me, have to his knowledge left this and the other islands of the Washington and the Marquesas Groups in search of other lands. None has ever been heard of except in one instance. Four canoes sailed from Nooaheeva, or Madison's Island, in search of land to leeward; they fell in with Roberts' Islands to the N. W., where the natives go annually to collect the tail feathers of the Tropic bird. . . .

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Three or four days after the departure of the canoes, on these voyages of discovery, the priests come lurking to the houses of the inhabitants of the valley, whence they sail, and in a squeaking affected voice, inform them that they have found a land abounding in breadfruit, hogs, coconuts, everything that can be desired, and invite others to follow them, pointing out the direction to sail, in order to fall in with this desirable spot. New canoes are constructed, and new adventurers commit themselves to the ocean, never to return.

The story of the great canoe "Ka'ahua" furnished another example of emigration. It describes the way in which a Pua Ma'u chief organized such an expedition for "land seeking" *(he fenua imi)*. It is certain that the proportion of the adventurers who reached land on such voyages was very small and of those who returned, even smaller; the majority of these explorers undoubtedly perished, and most of the others must have remained in the islands they had reached.

The people of today remember some interesting instances of the emigration of tribes driven from their valleys in war. Legend recounts that the tribe called Fiti Nui, which lived in the upland valley of Me-ae Topa Iho on the southern coast of Hiva Oa toward the western extremity, was overwhelmed in a war. They built rafts of great packs of bamboos tied together. On these they departed from Hiva Oa, expecting to take refuge on Tahu Ata. But a contrary wind arose and drove them southward. In recent times, some people from the island of Napuka in the Tuamotus, came to the Marquesas on a schooner. An old woman with them said, "We are the overthrown people *(pi'i hina)* from Me'ae Topa Iho. Our ancestors were the Fitinui."

Descriptions and a study of the Napuka people, their culture, and their dialect, give no suggestion of closer relationship to the Marquesas tribes. They appear to be a degenerate stock. Their dialect is incomprehensible to other Tuamotuans, as is also that of the Marquesas; but these is no evidence of its derivation from the latter. (See 2, p. 36.)

Another story recounts that, after defeat in battle, a number of people were driven to depart from Hana Pa'a Oa on a bamboo raft. They reached Takaroa in the Tuamotus. A chief named Mapuhi from Takaroa proved that he was a descendant of these Hana Pa'a refugees by his knowledge of the names of all the early settlers in the Pa'a Oa valley. His grandfather, long before, had dictated the names to him. This knowledge proved to the old people whom Mapuhi had assembled that he was truly of their

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622 inquired who was their king the reply was, "You are king; I am king; we are all kings." The consequence was that every man was his protector and avenger, that feuds, robberies, wars and bloodshed were incessant, and that the people of every valley were accustomed to kill those of the neighboring valley at sight.

Stewart (26, p. 242) was impressed with the communism. He wrote:

> I have been more than half tempted, with all deference to the dignity of our own happy government, to style it [the native system] . . . . . a republic *en sauvage*, in which every man is the representative of his own rights and the only lawgiver, with liberty in all cases promptly to wield the power of the executive, after having discharged to his own satisfaction the functions of the judge!

LEADERS AND PROFESSIONALS

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625 The order of society within the tribe may be graded according to function. First in prominence and prestige were the chiefs and chiefesses.
193 Next in importance were the tribal inspirational priests, the *tau'a*—also spoken of as *etua* (god), because the individual was actually identified in the mind of the native with the god who was supposed to inspire him. Almost, but not quite, equal in rank and importance to the *tau'a* was the ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono, tuhuka o'oko)*, who recited and directed chants and ritual in ceremonies. Grading down from the *tuhuna o'ono* 554 were the many other experts *(tuhuna)* skilled in other professions. *Moa*, temple assistants of the *tau'a*, ranked perhaps after the *tuhuna o'ono* along with the superior *tuhuna*. The *toa*, war leaders, ranked in civil affairs next to the chiefs themselves; but in general, in matters of tribal activity, in connection with which ritual and revelation from the tribal god were so important, they were in the actual social order of less importance than the *tau'a* and the *tuhuna o'ono*. The people as a whole were known as *mata-ei-nana*, which may best be translated as "the people" and is also the word generally used for *tribe*. Included under this heading were all those not functioning in one or another of the capacities just mentioned: fighters, planters, fishermen *(ava-ika)*, servants of the chiefs, assistants of *tuhuna*, the young libertines called *ka'ioi*, women in general whose activity was 554 limited to the household industries, children, and old people. The arrange-
264 ment, or grouping, of people at great festivals gives the best idea of the
574 natural social order. The visiting chiefs sat on a special platform in front of the local chief's house; warriors and professionals sat together on another special platform; women and children, on another; and the inspirational priest with his assistants and the ceremonial priest were together at the sacred place attached to the feast place.

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565 There were no firmly or definitely established social classes. Social position tended to become hereditary, but there was nothing to prevent any man or woman in the tribe from rising to the highest positions, those

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evident that the inspirational priest *(tau'a)* was usually a member of the same family as the chief, but that the functions of the two were always entirely distinct. The chief had no important religious function in tribal ceremonial and no religious authority, except that indirectly derived through the *tau'a*. 622

In communal enterprise, whether work, war, or feasting, the chief nominally determined what should be done and when. The actual planning, organization, and execution were, however, accomplished by the administrative and industrial *tuhuna* under him. It was explained to me once that the chief knew nothing about the organization of industries, great festivals, and the like, but that his was the wealth which enabled him to employ those who did know. I have evidence, however, which shows that some chiefs, at least, took an active part in directing labor. For work of a less important character than that of organized industries and festivals, the chief summoned workers by blowing his shell trumpet or sending a *tuhuna* to secure them.

Professionals and Executives

The administration of tribal affairs was of the most informal and unorganized type. Assistants of the chief, who attended to and supervised the execution of his orders were called *tuhuna* (*tuhuka*). *Tuhuna* may be said to have constituted a unit in the social order, a professional group, all kinds being included in the *papa tuhuna (papa*, level). There were certain *tuhuna* whose duties were entirely executive; there were others who were professionals—master-craftsmen, lorists, artists—who functioned also in the political, social, and religious system of the tribe. In other words, there were administrative *tuhuna* and industrial *tuhuna*. Both, as a class, aided the chief politically. 624

In the story of Kae, a chief when considering a declaration of war called together his own *tuhuna* as a council, and then, following their advice, sent out messengers to neighboring tribes to summon the *tuhuna* of the other valleys to an intertribal council. According to this story all the *tuhuna* (meaning here executive *tuhuna)* of the Nuku division of Hiva Oa assembled. They were told by the local chief of his plans for war and they agreed to aid him, returning home to prepare their people. What is particularly worthy of notice in this incident is: first, the calling of an intertribal council; and second, the fact that it was not the chiefs of neighboring valleys who were summoned to a council, but the *tuhuna*. 721 624

In matters of importance to the tribe as a whole, such as war, the main source of guidance to which a chief turned was his *tau'a*, the inspi- 793 624

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793 624 rational priest of the tribal god. Sometimes on his own part, sometimes at the chief's behest, he performed his oracular function to discover the proper course that should be pursued.

Councils

623 793 622 The second source of guidance for the chief was through councils. Such amounted to nothing more than informal discussion in which the important members of the tribe, those who were recognized as powers in the community, including the *tuhuna*, and the *toa* or war leaders, participated. These councils were entirely informal: there was no organization, no formality. They took place either at the chief's house or, more commonly, at the warriors' house, which was near and secure from female interruption. The inspirational priest, who was usually related to the chief, played a most important part in these meetings. Whether the balance of power lay with him or the chief depended upon the personality and the reputation of each of the two men. The memory of people of today is so much more vivid regarding the exploits and power of their *tau'a* than of their chiefs, that it seems probable it was usually the priest, rather than the chief, who swayed the minds of the leaders of the people at these meetings. The relationship then must have been this: the chief was directed or guided in making his decisions by the *tau'a*, who received his indications from the tribal god. The *tuhuna*, leaders and organizers of peaceful enterprise, and the *toa*, war leaders, received their orders from the chief. And lastly the people received orders, were organized, directed, and led by the *tuhuna* and *toa*. The function of *toa* as war leaders is described under War, and the organization and direction of enterprise by *tuhuna* is discussed under Industries.

Personal retaliation

627 [628] [674] [784] For murder, theft, insult, or other personal offense within a tribe, the recourse was personal or family retaliation by open force or by supernatural means. Murder and other offenses on the part of other tribes were, if sufficiently serious, avenged by the tribe as a whole. All evidence indicates that stealing within a tribe was very rare and that killing was more so. Stealing was so frowned upon by public opinion that a father would disown a son who did it. Theft was usually punished by supernatural means but sometimes by death. Most of the murders that occurred within a tribe had as their motive sexual jealusy. A chief enforced his authority by supernatural means or by having the offenders killed by his war leaders *(toa)*. The executive tuhuna functioned as guardians of the chief's rights,—several of the stories collected illustrate this,—but the

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catch are described in the section on fishing; and other feasts of minor importance are discussed in conjunction with the incidents which they celebrated, such as birth, death, and the like.

PRIESTS

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The tribal inspirational priest was called *tau'a, tau'a nui,* or sometimes *atua,* which means literally god. The *tau'a,* who filled the rôle of tribal inspirational priests, must be distinguished from those of less prominence, called by the same name, who were private practitioners. *Tau'a* was a term which referred to all persons who were subject to possession by spirits or gods.

After the tribal inspirational priest, the next in importance in tribal worship was the ceremonial priest, *tuhuna o'ono* (*tuhika o'oko*), who may be characterized also as the tribal bard and director of ritual, since it was he who led, and at times sang alone, the sacred chants in rites. He was also the teacher of chants and legends.

Moa, u'u, or *taputoho* were men who were the guardians and assistants of the inspirational priest and consecrated to the work of serving as assistants in ceremonial. *Tauoha, veveahu,* or *tauahi* were servants of the inspirational priest.

Tuhuna as a class, including the "old men" who were masters of different professions, constituted a body that furnished the choirs which intoned the sacred chants during the ceremonials in the sacred places and on the feast places. Each of the above classes of religious functionaries will be discussed separately. Each tribal temple of importance had one inspirational priest, several ceremonial priests, and a considerable number of assistants.

THE TRIBAL INSPIRATIONAL PRIEST—TAU'A

Tribal inspirational priests (*tau'a*) might be male or female, though they were commonly male. The office was usually, though not always, inherited. Such priests could be of any class of society, though they were commonly closely related to the chiefs: it would have been most usual in the ancient days to find that the inspirational priest was a near relative of the tribal chief.

The fitness of an individual for the position of *tau'a* was indicated by a miraculous sign of some kind. He might be taken possession of by a god with the violent manifestations that accompanied this phenomenon. His selection might be demonstrated by something remarkable happening to him, such as being in the water for a long time without being eaten by sharks, or the ability to maintain a fast of seven or eight days (19). Of one of the recent *tau'a* of a Fatu Hiva tribe it is related that he used to lie

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upon the water at sea for a month at a time without food. Such beliefs in the miraculous powers of inspirational priests are characteristic of the natives of the Marquesas.

On Fatu Hiva it was said that when an old *tau'a* died his soul entered into the person who should be his successor. In other words the person who exhibited a fit of possession immediately after the death of the inspirational priest was the dead priests's successor. This was usually some member of the priest's family, the son or daughter, but occasionally an unrelated person. Some of the *tau'a* were men who were distinguished by remarkable physical deformity of some kind.

The following incident from the history of the Na-iki will give another example of the miraculous power of these priests and bring out how important a part they played in tribal affairs.

In one great war all Pepane descended upon the Na-iki, who, not being able to summon their allies to their aid were unable to resist, and fled to Tahu Ata. The *tau'a* of the tribe, named Ma'a-ia-ope, fled with his people, wearing his *kahu kohito*, or sacred robe of office. His mother took refuge in the mountains of Hiva Oa, carrying with her the sacred whale's tooth of the priest and hiding it in a cave. After the Na-iki had been on Tahu Ata for a short time, the *tau'a* set about finding out where it was the god's will that the Na-iki should settle. It is said that he sent his sacred robe to every island to determine whether the Na-iki would follow it and take up their residence there. So great was the power (*mana*) of the *tau'a* that he was able to cause the robe to go without the aid of any material agency. The place where it rested was to be the chosen spot. The robe returned from every place to which he sent it, until finally he sent it to the mountain named Kei Ani, the sacred mount in the valley of Vevau, the original home of the Na-iki, from which they had been driven. There the sacred garment remained, indicating that the god willed that Na-iki should return to their own valley, which they accordingly did.

The functions of the inspirational priest were threefold: caring for the remains of the dead, presiding at the tribal ceremonial, and learning and giving utterance to the will of the tribal god. Bones that were to be disposed of in the sacred place or in a cave were entrusted to him. The skulls of chiefs that were kept in the temple and were used in certain rites enemies killed were given to him to be consecrated in the temple before they were returned to their captors. The part he played in the tribal ceremonial will be described later. (See Human Sacrifice.)

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Inspiration of a Tau'a

The inspiration of such a priest by his god took the form of violent possession. So far as I have been able to find out, no artificial means were employed in inducing the physical state. Although, like the other old men, the inspirational priest consumed much *kava*, it does not seem to have been the object of inducing possession. When the priest was in such a state of possession, it was thought that the spirit which was animating him and speaking through his mouth was that of the god. According to Garcia (14, p. 46) when an inspirational priest desired to be possessed he would usually sleep at night in a sacred place, laying his head on the trunk of a coconut tree near the place consecrated to the god. Suddenly he would cry out that he heard the god coming and then he would make a noise, sometimes loud, sometimes soft, but always peculiar, seemingly a trick of ventriloquism, with which practice these priests were acquainted. Stewart says (26, p. 246) that

> . . . in their fits of inspiration they become convulsed, glare fiercely with their eyes, and put their hands into a violent quiver, running about prophesying death to their enemies, in a squeaking voice, and at times demanding human victims for the god by whom they were possessed.

In the manuscript of Père Pierre (4) the possession and activity of *tau'a* at such times are described as follows:

> When a god entered into the body of a *tau'a* (*etua hooka*) and took possession of him, the *tau'a* became depressed and his body became convulsed. If the god did not leave him soon, he took in his hand a stick of iron-wood (*koto*) and set about traveling around the country like a man transported by the god or demon. The domestics of the priests (*moa*) and the *tauoka* (dancers) accompanied him in his evolutions. The *tauoka* danced in a grotesque manner about him. Arrived at a valley, he went to rest upon the sacred place (*me'ae*) and passed the night there to incorporate in himself the god of this place. He behaved thus in all the valleys through which they passed. During all the time of his evolutions or possession, he took nothing at all for nourishment but the water of coconut. It was not permitted to maltreat him, nor any of his followers, because of the god who resided in him; but the *moa* and the *tauoka* must watch that no one gave him the water of coconut with *eka* (amomum) in it, lest the god abandon him. Should he drink this potion he would have ceased to be a *tau'a* and his virtue would have passed to him who had given him this drink.
>
> During his evolutions, all work was suspended. It was not even permitted to light a fire. Everybody must stay at home and shave his head. It was forbidden to carry *eka*, to rub oneself with it, or to anoint one's self with oil, under pain of being put to death by the god. The *tau'a* tried to kill with his staff (*koto*) any whom he saw smearing themselves with the yellow *eka*. Arrived at the valley next his own, he would throw his staff into the sea and this stick would arrive before him upon the beach of his own district. [In the story of Fatu-a-nono, a *tau'a* is saved from drowning by her staff, which bears her to shore from a swamped canoe.]
>
> Having returned to his district, he went to the sacred place. The *moa* and the *tauoka* built him a house with green coconut leaves. In a moment of convulsions he cried: "*Eua tu u taika i N—*" (There are my sacrifices at N—), stating the num-

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ber of victims required and the places where they would be found. People then went to look at the place indicated for the number of victims fixed by the *tau'a*. If the victims designated had not been found at the place indicated by him he would have been regarded as an impostor and no longer a *tau'a*. But the natives say that he was never mistaken.

A priestess possessed by a god or demon (*etua hooka*) made the same evolutions. If she took in her hand a *hoto* (pointed stick of ironwood), it was a sign that human victims were necessary. If she took nothing but a piece of sugar cane, it was a sign that they were not necessary. She wore nothing upon her body but a waist cloth. Relatives could prevent her from making these excursions or evolutions by hiding her loin cloth, thus leaving her entirely naked.

The Sanctity of a Tau'a

The sanctity of the *tau'a* was greater than that of any other member of the tribe. When he was possessed, or when he died, the whole tribe was under a ceremonial *tapu*, which required that no work be done, that no one circulate in the valley, that no fire be lighted, and that no one anoint himself which coconut oil nor with saffron. His great sanctity may easily be understood when one considers that the living man himself was regarded as a god, at most times being called *atua*, god. According to Père Siméon, even the shadow of his house was *tapu*. When a *tau'a* died on Fatu Hiva, his house and all his possessions were burned. His body was so sacred that it could not be touched by anyone. Hence it was not treated and mummified, as other bodies were, but was carried on a bier to a cave in the mountains and there left to decompose. Mr. Linton has given me some interesting examples of the way in which property could be rendered *tapu* by naming it after a *tau'a*. This custom, discussed under Names, made it possible for individuals or a group to restrict a piece of property by giving it a sacred name that belonged to them, thus consecrating the property to themselves. Garcia (14, p. 52) speaks of one *tau'a* on Nuku Hiva, who at his death made red a *tapu* color—thereafter all red things were sacred to him, even fruits and animals.

Private Life of a Tau'a

The evidence of modern informants as to whether *tau'a* married and had families is conflicting. According to some they were allowed to have nothing at all to do with women; others say that they associated with women, when not functioning ceremonially, but had no children; while still others say that intercourse with women was *tapu* only during the performance of rites, but that during the rest of the time *tau'a* might have a family life exactly as did every other member of the tribe. The rules or customs regarding this may have varied in different places. Certain it is, from various sources of evidence, that some *tau'a* had wives and children. The family of a *tau'a* on Nuku Hiva is described by Stewart

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(26, pp. 306-307) and the legend of the flight of the Na-iki from Atu Ona, which has been quoted, describes the *tau'a* of that tribe as having wife and children. If the office of inspirational priest was inherited, as it seems to have been usually, it goes without saying that such priests married. It is certain that recent *tau'a* in Pua Ma'u and Fatu Hiva married.

Costume of a Tau'a

The only type of dress distinguishing an inspirational priest from anyone else was his headdress. This is said to have been called at Pua Ma'u *pa'e hei pepe atua* (*pepe atua*, many gods). I could obtain no description of this headdress there. Stewart (26, p. 220) describes a *tau'a* wearing on his head "a dried banana leaf neatly and ingeniously wrought into a becoming toque," and elsewhere (26, p. 304), another wearing a tapa turban. In war they wore what was called the *hei pe'a* or *hei maka-maka*, an ornament of cock's plumes for the head. According to Père Siméon (7) their heads were always shaved, and they are also described as having white beards and wearing collars made of boars' tusks (14, pp. 63-65). Stewart (26, p. 305) describes such a priest wearing a long white mantle and over it a shorter mantle of red imported cloth. It has already been pointed out that red was *tapu* to a certain deceased inspirational priest on Nuku Hiva. A woman now living in Pua Ma'u described to Mr. Linton a *tau'a* whom she saw wearing a red blanket in the sacred place of that valley. The iron-wood staff called *koto*, the form of which is unknown, and three fau sticks wrapped in cloth, were the distinguishing insignia of the *tau'a*. (See Sacred Precincts: The Inspirational Priest's House). Such priests were tattooed like other men.

Death and Deification of a Tau'a

On the occasion of the sickness of an inspirational priest a human sacrifice was offered (18, p. 149). It is said that when such a priest had died a leaf of fruit of a *noni* tree or of some other plant that irritated the skin or was otherwise offensive was placed on the body "so that the *tau'a* would not be hungry." The object of this was evidently to prevent the powerful spirit from lingering about the body. It was necessary that an inspirational priest should always die in the sacred precincts of the tribe, where a special house was built for his body. Following his death, there was a general *tapu* and the rites described under Death were performed: chanting, sacrifices, and treating of the body [according to Père Pierre (4), contradicted in Fatu Hiva]. According to Garcia (14, p. 45) from seven to ten victims were offered on the occasion of such rites, a victim being offered for the different parts of the body of the priest, for the head, eyes,

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793 the hair, and so on, the object of this rite being the deification, or elevation in power, of the spirit of the dead priest. Great memorial festivals were held in honor of dead priests long after their decease. (See Festivals.)

THE CEREMONIAL PRIEST—TUHUNA O'ONO

793 The priest who presided over the ceremonial of the tribe was the *tuhuna o'ono* (*o'ono*, chants) or *tuhuka o'oko*. To direct and lead the ceremonial at public rites, and particularly the chanting which was an important part of them, was the chief function of this priest. Again, it was the *tuhuna o'ono* who recited such chants as the *pu'e*, constituting the chief feature of the ceremonial associated with industries, the consecration of new things, and so on. It was he who had charge of the chanting in private rites, such as that at the time of death. Lastly, he was the professional who was employed to teach the sacred chants called *vavana*, *pu'e*, *tona pou*, etc., to sacred first-borns; who directed and led the chanting of these in the family feasts celebrated for that purpose; and who taught legends. In a word, the *tuhuna o'ono* was at once tribal ceremonial priest and bard.

The position of *tuhuna o'ono* tended to become heriditary as a result of the fact that such a professional would be most desirous of passing on his knowledge to a son, if the boy had the capacity for learning; or if he had no son he would be likely to pass on the knowledge to some near relative. But anyone who had the wherewithal could employ a *tuhuna o'ono* to teach his son, and anyone who had the intellectual ability required could demonstrate his skill as a bard and become a *tuhuna o'ono*. No woman ever became a ceremonial priest for the reason that the most sacred of the chants, the *pu'e*, *tona pou*, and certain others of lesser importance, were *tapu* to women.

The manner of teaching chants and legends is described in the chapters covering those subjects. A future *tuhuna o'ono* was simply one of a group, who came together to be taught legends and chants by an old *tuhuna*. Showing keenness and intellectual ability, and desiring to become a *tuhuna o'ono*, a man would devote his time to perfecting himself in the recitation of legends, chants, and genealogies, and in increasing his knowledge, until he came to be recognized as an expert.

Before one actually became ceremonial priest for the tribe, he had to be consecrated by two ceremonies at the sacred place. Before these rites of consecration, initiates were subject to certain restrictions: they could not wear flower necklaces (*hei*), make use of saffron on their bodies, nor anoint their bodies or hair with oil; they were obliged to preserve continence, and to play no games; *popoi* with coconut milk and a fish called

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hohoe were ***tapu*** to them, and they must eat alone. Two rites consecrated them, the first one called ***tuputu***, the main feature of which seems to have consisted in the initiate's eating ***ka'aku*** (see Preparation of Food) alone; and the second called ***pouhahati*** when there was drumming and chanting (7). Beyond this no details of these rites are known.

Tests by other members of the same profession, and contests between famous ***tuhuna o'ono*** of different tribes, were important events in the lives of these bards. Such contests were regarded as tribal affairs, and the contesting ***tuhuna*** were looked upon as tribal champions. When there was a great festival in the valley and there were visiting bards of other tribes, the local ***tuhuna*** (experts in crafts) would call together a meeting in a special house built for the purpose. Here before all those who were interested, and particularly the local and visiting ***tuhuna*** of all kinds, the local bards would match wits and learning with the visitors. If any bard were found in error by a consensus of opinion of the rest of the masters, he then and there ceased to be recognized as a ***tuhuna*** and could never again lay claim to this distinction. A type of chant called ***ui*** (see Chants) recounts such contests between champions of different tribes. More informal contests occurred between individuals who were learned in stories and chants. I was a witness of such an encounter in Fatu Hiva between an old woman who is recognized for her knowledge of lore and a younger man of Hiva Oa, who she had heard was teaching "the American" the ancient lore. It was believed by the natives that a defeated bard would die as the result of a defeat, which involved the loss of his power (***mana***). Some informants say that a defeated ***tuhuna*** was killed.

At times when he was not engaged in his professional activities the ***tuhuna o'ono*** lived in a home and with a family in just the same way as any other member of the tribe. When he was consecrated to tribal ceremonial he stayed in the sacred precincts and had nothing to do with his family or any outsiders. When he was consecrated to the work of teaching or recitation of chants for private rites, he resided at the place where his duties were being performed and was restricted from contact with outsiders in the same way.

At Pua Ma'u the ceremonial dress of the ***tuhuna o'ono*** consisted of a turban, loin cloth, and robe, all made of the red brown bark of the young banyan tree (***hiapo***). In this valley it would seem that the ***tuhuna o'ono*** and the ***tau'a*** wore red, while the assistants or sacrificers (***taputoho***) wore white.

Because of his sacred functions, the ***tuhuna o'ono*** was a very sacred person, although by no means so sacred as the inspirational priest, who represented the tribal god himself. The same rites were, however, per-

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793 formed for the *tuhuna o'ono* at the time of his death as for the inspira-
766 tional priest and the chief, consisting of the ceremonial *tapu* on the whole tribe, treatment of the body at the tribal temple, and the chanting and sacrifices, which were intended to elevate his spirit to such power that it would become a mighty god to aid the tribe. The ceremonial symbol of the *tuhuna o'ono* which was prominently associated with these rites seems to be the same as that associated with the *tau'a*—a bundle of three fau stakes wrapped in cloth. The body of the *tuhuna o'ono*, like that of the *tau'a*, was placed, sometimes, at least, in a vault dug beneath the tribal temple. In the valley of Vaii on Nuku Hiva there was a special sacred place consecrated to the sepulchre of ceremonial priests (7).

TEMPLE ASSISTANTS

793 Temple assistants, called *moa, taputoho,* or *u'u,* were chosen by the inspirational priest and performed their duties under his direction. When the priest was possessed he would place his *hoto* (staff of iron-wood) between the legs of a man whom he desired as a *moa,* saying *"Ua hihi oe ma uka o tu u hoto"* (You who are on my *hoto* are sacred.) The man thus chosen had to present himself promptly at the sacred place, deserting his family, for death through a curse of the high priest was the inevitable result of refusal (7).

The duties of the *moa* were to care for, kill, handle, and dispose of the remains of sacrifices, human and otherwise; to prepare the food of the inspirational priest and attend him generally; to take care of the sacred precincts and of the objects in them, such as the chief's skulls used in various rites; to prepare the sacred structures for rites, and so on.

The dress of the temple assistants in Pua Ma'u consisted of a long robe of white cloth covering the whole body like a blanket and coming to the ground (*kahu ko'oko'o*), and a turban made of the dark-colored bark of a very old *ute* stem that had only been tapped or beaten out roughly. This bark cloth was wrapped around the head and tied at the back, leaving an end pendant (*pa'e kohito*).

According to the manuscript of Père Pierre (7) these temple assistants were required to remain always at the sacred place, being allowed to have nothing to do with women. At Pua Ma'u I was told, however, that it was only during rites that they were thus consecrated and that between times they were allowed to live at home with their families as anyone else would. This, I believe, was propably the usual situation, as the sacred places were entirely deserted except when rites were being performed. So far as my information goes, there were no especial rites for these temple assistants nor unusual treatment of their bodies upon their death.

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

murder, had no punishment but what personal revenge might dictate. As to religion, though there are priests amongst them, we never perceived the least signs of worship. When any person dies, the corpse is immediately washed, and exposed on a plank in the middle of the house, and his relations and friends assemble to mourn over him; on which occasion they weep bitterly, and scratch their bodies with sharp bones, or shells. Sometimes this attendance on the dead is a scene of crying and laughing alternately; these different emotions immediately following each other, as I have often witnessed, in savages. For instance, on my firing a gun, though it terrified them almost to death, a burst of laughter almost instantaneously succeeded their fright. The ceremony of washing and weeping being over, the body is carried to the burying-ground, where it is exposed on a wooden platform, and left to waste away in the open air. In war, the bodies of the dead are always buried, for fear of their falling into the hands of the enemy; nothing being so humiliating to a Marquesan, as to see a scull of one of his party tied to the foot of an individual of an adverse party, who shows his triumph in this manner, if he obtains one in any way. 1804. May.

The most barbarous honours are paid here to priests, on their decease. Roberts assured me, that, on the death of a priest, three men must be sacrificed; two of whom are hung up in the burying-ground, while the third is cut to pieces, and eaten by visitors; all but the head, which is placed upon one of the idols. When the flesh of the first two are wasted away, the bones that remain are burnt. The custom of the country requires, that the men destined for sacrifice should belong to some neigh-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OXo Marquesas OX6

105 643 At the head of the tribe stood the chief, but he appears to have been a different functionary from the Hawaiian or Tahitian ruler. The concepts of divine descent and absolute power were lacking among the Marquesans, and there was no sharp line of demarkation between the ruled and ruling classes. As in all other parts of Polynesia, the office was hereditary, but the chiefs frequently sought to strengthen their position by alliance with influential families of commoners. Such alliances were formed principally through adoption, and the chieftainship might in this way pass out of the line of actual blood descent. The chief was looked upon as the director of group activities, and in some places at least, as the owner of the tribal lands. His power was by no means absolute, however, and in case of oppression his followers might desert and pass into the service of another chief. It is an interesting fact that the chief does not seem to have been expected to expose his person in war. Battles were directed by war leaders (*toa*) who were men of proved valor. Within many of the fortifications visited, small enclosures were pointed out as the place where the chief took refuge with a body-guard of picked men, during an attack.

793 105 Second to the chief, and with power almost equal to his, was the inspirational priest (*tau'a*). This personage was believed to be the mouthpiece of the god, and as such had much influence in secular as well as religious matters. The relative power of the chief and *tau'a* in any community no doubt depended largely upon their personalities, but on the whole the power of the *tau'a* appears to have been inferior, final decision in most matters resting with the chief.

105 461 Next in importance below the chief and *tau'a* ranked the heads of large families. Below these in turn seem to have been classed the master craftsmen of various trades, *tuhuna*. Such men appear to have been regularly instructed and were extremely jealous of their trade secrets. They were employed and well paid by chiefs and rich commoners, who fed and housed them while the work was going on. It is an interesting commentary on the position of the skilled workman in the social scale that even chiefs did not consider it below their dignity to make and sell objects. Gracia (28, p. 149) mentions a chief who derived most of his revenue from carving pipes.

105 619 484 In spite of the difficulties of land communication, the lack of centralized authority, and the almost constant inter-tribal wars, the isolation of the various valleys was more apparent than real. Due to the involved native relationships, and especially to the practice of adoption, many individuals were under the protection of more than one tribe and could serve as go-betweens. *Tuhuna* of important trades also appear to have been able to travel with considerable safety as their services were much in demand. Great fetes given by one tribe were often attended by contingents from other tribes with whom the givers were tempo-

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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168 child in the group. On Tahuata, the island next to the one on which I was living, there were over two hundred deaths for every birth.

Environment and Economy

133 The Marquesas are a series of high islands, very rugged and
775 mountainous. At the Western end of Hiva Oa, a cliff, straight as the wall of a house, rises from the sea to a height of 2,000 feet. The natives believe this to be the place from which the spirits of the dead leap off to the bottom of the sea, whence they travel eastward to Hawaiki, the mythical land from which
• [793] all Polynesians came. At the top of this cliff lived a single priest whose duty it was to watch this leap and presumably say farewell to the ghost as he passed on to the next world. The priest
[211] kept records of each death and birth by means of a long cord, tying a knot for each birth and untying a knot for each death, thus keeping a sort of informal census for the group.

133 The islands have no coastal shelf; the coast goes down with no barrier reef, making fishing difficult and dangerous. The interior of the islands is extremely rugged, consisting chiefly of sections of blown-up volcanic craters with peaks four to five thousand feet high. Many of the larger islands have never been traversed even today. The coast is made up of narrow valleys cut off from one another by ridges so high and steep that in many cases one can get from one valley to another only by sea.
137 There is considerable timber in the valleys and also on the slopes at the eastern ends of the islands. The uplands are covered by a growth of low ferns, across which one can see for many miles. There are a few ironwood trees, but most of the high country is open and waterless.

132 Since the islands are only ten degrees south of the equator,
731 the climate is warm, with little seasonal change. Being north of the trade winds and consequently devoid of seasonal rains, the islands are subjected from time to time to long and destructive droughts, which lead to serious crop failures and even to shortage of drinking water, as the streams go dry. This state

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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622 his servant blow a blast on a trumpet. In case of dispute, the chief did not administer justice. All that he could do was to intervene through his messengers, announcing which side he would back. When the chief gave backing to one side, the other usually withdrew and the dispute died down.

592 622 The chief's household was of the regular type except that it was larger than the others, usually having extra wives attached to it. Honored visitors would be received into the house and extended the privileges of the head wife. A chief kept craftsmen in his household all the time; some were attached permanently, others were accepted as members of the household while working on an assignment. The household also included messengers, executives, and servants. On rare occasions, as has previously been observed, a woman might be the tribal head.

793 554 Next to the chief, and at times ranking above him in the social scale, stood the inspirational priest of the dominant tribal god. When inspired, he outranked everybody else, but, of course, inspiration was sporadic. He was usually a close relative of the chief, generally a younger brother, and was chosen for manifestations of possession. He held office for life. When he died, his successor would be possessed by the god. Occasionally a woman would be possessed; but man or woman, the inspired individual was almost always from the chief's family. There were, however, occasional cases of authentic possession by members of households other than the chief's, which were nevertheless accepted by the group. Beneath this highest inspirational priest were a number of other priests who belonged to lesser gods. These might be either men or women, their importance depending on their inspirers.

The higher inspirational priests were usually heads of households. The authenticity of possession by an important deity in the case of a secondary husband was likely to be questioned. A candidate for the priesthood was taboo while possessed. The higher inspirational priests could seize servants by thrusting a staff between their legs and telling them to follow. This demand

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was made in the name of the god; if the man refused, he was cursed and might die.

In addition, there were the ceremonial priests, who were always male. They had no claims to supernatural powers but were specialists in dealing with supernatural things. The main ceremonial priest took charge of all ceremonies, saw that rituals were properly performed, and had final disposition of the dead. He had a number of assistants, who were divided into different ranks, the one next in line succeeding the main priest on his death. To become a ceremonial priest required many years of training. The candidate had to learn the rituals, chants, genealogies, creation of the universe, etc. Anyone could become a ceremonial priest, but the post tended to be hereditary. It was a well-paid profession. The ceremonial priests were called in to instruct the eldest child in the ancient lore. At such times younger children could sit in and learn also, but the more esoteric knowledge was given privately. The social rank of these priests was uncertain. Many of them were household heads, and were in demand as household members as they were well paid, and consequently a financial asset to the family.

Below the priests ranked the *toa,* the important warriors. These were high in prestige but did not outrank the *tuhunga,* or skilled craftsmen. A good warrior had to take at least one head, and therefore the *toa* tended to be troublemakers and to stir up wars. The *toa* and the *tuhunga* together formed the council of the chief, though the household heads also sat in. There was no formal calling of the council. Toward evening everyone would drift over to the assembly place; perhaps the young people would start a dance; the older ones would sit and talk; questions would be thrashed out, and at the end of the evening the point would be settled. An agreement would be reached without anyone, even the chief, putting forward a vigorous opinion. The chiefs, in spite of their power, were never oppressive, for there was the con-

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583 formal marriage of this sort. The ordinary marriage involved no ceremony or gift exchanges and was merely the selection of a permanent partner by the eldest child as the hereditary household head. Unmarried individuals then attached themselves to these households in subsidiary positions. Because of the shortage of women, almost every girl had an opportunity to become the head wife in a household. Only rich households had subsidiary wives. Monogamous marriages occurred only among the very poor or in rare cases of strong personal attachment.

888 Old age brought no prestige in the Marquesas, and respect for parents was impossible in a society where a man was outranked by his son at birth and merely acted as regent until the child was old enough to marry. The high point of life for the Marquesan came during his years as active head of the household. The only people who remained important in old age were [1793] the inspirational priests. Ceremonial priests, when they became too old to officiate actively, had to give up their positions. The old women carried on most of the woman's work in the house, while the young women entertained the men; old men could always find odd jobs to keep themselves occupied. The old were neglected but were never killed or mistreated for fear that they might take revenge later, when they became ghosts.

[578 There was very little quarreling among the Marquesans, and 273 that only when they were drunk. Theft of food was not in- 685 frequent but was not seriously regarded. The owner of the food would be irate and would punish the thief if he could catch him, but the man who got away with the theft successfully would boast about it later when the owner's annoyance had had time to subside. There was practically no theft of anything except food, probably because all household objects were indi- 682 vidually made and decorated so that the stolen article would be promptly recognized. There were some killings, almost invariably for only two causes: sexual jealousy during drunkenness, and revenge, usually by sorcery, for previous killings. The Marquesans had no form of legal procedure in handling crime. Each household was supposed to take care of its own interests.

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was apparently uneasy about his promise, and went up to the sacred place alone on the day before he was to take me. He came back looking very ill, said that he had seen a spirit and was going to die. He took to his bed and three days later he was dead, apparently scared to death.

In each of these sacred places there was a sacred grove, a series of platforms with images, etc. Near the house of the inspirational priest was a curious structure shaped like an obelisk, fifteen feet on a side and sixty feet high. At the tribal assembly place there was another sacred place which was open to all and used for small and unimportant sacrifices. Human sacrifices were all carried on in the sacred groves back in the hills. Some one tribal god was always in the ascendancy at any given time, the dominance shifting with the result of the oracles given by his inspirational priest and with the god's power to fulfill the demands of his followers. In other words, the god most worshipped was the one who worked most effectively; he was usually a deity recently dead.

The priesthood was highly organized with two classes, the inspirational and the ceremonial. Each important god had his own inspirational priest, although two or three lesser gods might share a priest among them. The inspirational priests of the highest gods outranked even the tribal chief. These priests were graded in duties and power in accordance with the importance of the god they served. Women could be inspirational priests but were rarely possessed by a god of high rank. The inspirational priest demonstrated his fitness for the office by being possessed by the spirit of the god immediately after the death of the previous priest of this particular god, or immediately after the deification of a new god. In other words, as soon as a vacancy in the priesthood occurred, everyone would be waiting expectantly to see who would become possessed. The individual thus chosen was seized with violent twitchings, made strange sounds, and finally, after emerging from the hysterical seizure, pronounced an oracle.

The inspirational priests of the higher gods were thought to

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793 have supernatural powers. They could fast for a month at a time, lie down on the water and go to sleep, see things happening at a distance, and make fatal curses. This latter ability was very useful, for the priest could take property from an individual just by the threat of cursing him if he did not hand over what the priest desired. The priest could also make a man his servant by approaching him and saying that he must serve him or he would die.

The priests demanded human sacrifices for their gods and kept things generally stirred up. At times of great possession, a high priest of a particular tribe would dress up in special costume and make a trip involving a circuit of the hostile tribes. He was protected from injury in enemy territory by the fact of his possession, which was respected by everyone. As he passed from one territory to another he would be possessed in turn by the dominant god of each locality, who would accompany him on his journey, and his *mana* would become stronger and stronger. When the priest returned to his own tribe, he would enter the sacred place and, in a fury of physical possession with appropriately wild gestures, would demand human sacrifices. Since he had been in a position to make a careful survey of enemy villages during his circuit, he could tell the warriors of the tribe just how to go about picking off captives in the tribes he had visited, so that these raids never failed.

The ceremonial priests, who were always male, made no pretense to inspiration but were considered skilled craftsmen in working with the gods. They knew all the rituals, sacred lore, and family genealogies. They presided at ceremonies, were called in to make charms and recite appropriate chants and rituals at the various individual life crises, and also instructed the children in the lore which it was proper for gentlefolk to know. They were the scholars of the community. The position of the ceremonial priest tended to be hereditary, as a father would try to pass on his craft to his son.

796 Each craft had its deity, a great *tuhunga* of the past. A man who made canoes would call upon the god of canoe makers, and